THE FIGHT AGAINST THE TERROR INSIDE FRANCO'S SPAIN . . . Pages 6-7

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AGAINST THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Senate filibuster: An ugly spectacle of un-Americanism

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

FOUR A.M., THURSDAY, MARCH 3. The tower light in the capitol dome is still burning and the 50-star U.S. flag is still flying in the heavy snowfall. The Senate is in its 65th hour of continuous session. Eighteen of the 100 Senators are filibustering to deprive the Senate of the right to vote on the right to vote for Southern Negroes.

This typical filibuster scene is filled with dreary people, dreary policemen, doormen, clerks, and page boys — and dreary Senators who sometimes fancy themselves as members of the "world's greatest deliberative body."

Four reporters are in the press gallery. Sixteen people including one Negro, Clarence Mitchell, the Washington representative of the NAACP, dot the public galleries. Sen. Clair Engle (D-Calif.) is in the chair and sleepy Sen. Clifford Case (R-N.J.) is on guard for the Republicans. Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.), who was Adlai Stevenson's Vice Presidential candidate in 1952, is 1-1/2 hours into his 4-hour stint as a Dixiecrat filibusterer.

BUDDIES: The Southerners are using the "buddy" system, and Sen. George Smathers (D-Fla.), who drove Claude Pepper out of the Senate with a red-baiting, racist smear campaign, is Sparkman's "buddy." Smathers has just returned from the Dominican Republic full of praise for dictator Rafael Trujillo as the U.S. line of defense in South America against Castro and the Communists.

Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Penn.), a civil rights champion, is on hand to prod and needle Sparkman from time to time with excessive gentleness and courtesy. When relieved on the watch by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), Clark whispers off the record to Sparkman: "I'm going to catch some sleep. I've enjoyed it very much!" What he enjoyed is not clear since Sparkman's pointless speech soon moved Sen. Douglas to label him "a geyser of pishposh."

Mr. Sparkman: "I know the Senator from Illinois is a powerful and potent 'argufier.' That is a good word, I believe."

Mr. Douglas: "It is not a pure word. It is a colloquialism."

Mr. Sparkman: "It is a colloquialism, but it is understandable. I believe the Senator would agree, would he not?"

Mr. Douglas: "It will serve as a word of homely, country origin."

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Exclusive photo: Munitions ship blast in Havana harbor. See Report to Readers, p. 2

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REP. POWELL CALLS FOR NATION-WIDE BOYCOTT

Northern picket lines back Dixie sitdowns

By Robert E. Light

NEARLY 1,200 students gathered at 8:45 a.m. March 1 on the campus of Alabama State College, a Negro school. One of their leaders, Elroy Embry, announced: "If anyone thinks that they cannot be orderly they can help us best by staying here." No one stayed.

In a column of twos, the students marched in silence toward downtown Montgomery to demonstrate their solidarity with 35 students who had conducted a sit-in strike at the county courthouse lunchroom when they were refused service. State and local police patrolled the two-mile line of march but they made no move to stop it.

On the white marble steps of the state capitol where 99 years ago Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as president of the Confederacy, the students lined up 35 abreast. The line extended halfway around the capitol grounds.

SILENT WITNESS: With heads bowed they recited the Lord's prayer, slowly and deliberately. One student lead the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner." The words "land of the free and home of the brave" rang out across the capitol grounds. State offices were closed in observation of Mardi Gras Day, but one silent witness was a twice-life-sized statue of Jefferson Davis in front of the building.

Thus began the second month of non-violent protest by Southern Negroes against jimcrow practices in department store lunch counters and restaurants. It started Feb. 1 with a sitdown strike by four college freshmen at a lunch counter in a Woolworth store in Greensboro, N.C. In one month sit-in strikes and picket lines, manned, for the most part, by Negro college students, appeared in more than 30 cities in seven Southern states.

At first white Southerners were uncertain how to combat the orderly demonstrators. Racists soon found answers: expulsions from school of the demonstration leaders, jailings and violence. But the protests continue to spread and may develop into a nation-wide boycott of chain variety stores. Support from

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

Two-way retaliation

PITTSBURGH, PA.

In the current discussions of the relative destructive powers of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. our high government and military men seem to be darkly hinting that we have reserve stockpiles of extremely lethal weapons other than nuclear (chemical and biological, in Colorado and in the Carolinas) which can more than make up for our lag behind Russia in atomic bomb performance. But nobody dares to come right out in the open and say bluntly that in case of a retaliatory attack on Russia, we intend to use chemical and bacterial poisons to destroy entire populations.

Is this unforgiveable lack of frankness on the part of our political and military leaders due to the certainty that world opinion would not tolerate the use of such genocide weapons if the intent to use them became generally known beforehand?

The Russians are incredibly stupid if they have not already interpreted these dark hints of our leaders correctly and long ago prepared themselves similarly to wipe us off the map in case World War III is started. What can any of us 'little' people do to protect ourselves and those dear to us from this diabolical insanity?

A. Bruce Cox

See story on page 3. Editor.

For Manolis Glezos

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

When Manolis Glezos, national resistance hero of Greece, was court-martialed in Athens last July, you were among those who supported the world-wide protest against his trial. Such protest, it is felt, was largely responsible for preventing a death sentence. Glezos was sentenced to five years imprisonment, four years in the concentration camp in Agios Efstratios and eight years deprivation of civil rights. (He is in Agios Efstratios now.)

Glezos' appeal to the Supreme Court (Areios Pagos) was to be considered March 12.

Won't you again send a letter or cable to: Areios Pagos, Athens, Greece, or to: Ambassador Alexis Liatis, Royal Greek Embassy, 2221 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington D.C.?

Norma Spector

Louis E. Burnham

ROUND TOP, N.Y.

From friends in Round Top the deepest sympathy to the GUARDIAN, to Mrs. Burnham and the children, and to our colored brothers, and to ourselves, in the incomparable loss of Louis Burnham.

R. Reuben

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

Friends of Louis E. Burnham and members assembled at a Brotherhood Program of the New York Intercultural Society solemnly pledged to continue the struggle to achieve his noble dreams of full equality for the Negro people, freedom for Africa and all the colonial peoples, world peace and everlasting brotherhood between all races and religions.

We young Negro and white writers, artists, musicians and social thinkers who knew and loved Louis Burnham so well, drew great inspiration and able direction from his poetic and powerful pen and analytical mind. Lou never spared himself in the struggle. To further his dreams we pledge no less of ourselves.

On the last night of his life before he began his final lecture on "Emerging Africa and the Negro People's Fight for Freedom," Lou counseled us thus: "I know you get tired of the continuing struggle sometimes. We all do—and then there are reversals in situations—but we must not despair, we must not rest—too long. Tomorrow's new world beckons. Tomorrow belongs to us."

Benjamin A. Brown, President

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — A Georgia state Senate committee Wednesday killed a bill that would have exempted children who serve as pages in the general assembly from having to sign a loyalty oath for state employes.

The pages, some of them as young as four years old, receive $4 a day and the committee figured that makes them state employes. They have to sign the oath when they pick up their pay at the state treasurer's office.

The oath requires them to swear that they will support the U.S. and state constitutions and "that I am not a member of the Communist party and that I have no sympathy with the doctrine of communism . . ."

Those who haven't learned to sign their names yet can make an "x."

—San Pedro, (Calif) News-Pilot, Feb. 18

Eleven entries on this item were submitted this week. The winner had the earliest postmark.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., San Pedro, Calif.

•

LOUISVILLE, KY.

I think Jim Aronson's tribute to Lou Burnham (Feb. 22) is one of the most beautiful pieces of writing I've ever read. It sums up simply and eloquently what so many of us felt about Lou.

I know that I, for one, felt a deep sense of personal loss when I heard that Lou was dead. It was something of a shock to me to realize later- -upon further reflection—that I was really not among those who had been privileged to know him well. I suppose I never had more than two or three personal conversations with him. And yet I had the feeling he was someone I had always known.

I think Aronson's article explains the reason why: it was Lou's deep love and sympathy for people that made you know you were not a stranger. He had that rare talent for establishing a real sense of communication with everyone whose life he touched.

With every new development in the integration movement, I always looked forward to the next issue of the GUARDIAN to see what Lou would say about it—because I knew that there I would find new insights and a deeper understanding. I, like thousands of others, will be greatly crippled now that he is gone—and so will the movement for a unified human race.

Anne Braden

Learn for yourself

SO. SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

The report of the first official U.S. Education Mission to the U.S.S.R. is available upon request to the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C. What better way to bring to American workers the truth about education under socialism? Send for your copy today.

Railroad worker

New shame

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Let us of the white race again face our shame—that to our terrible injustices against the darker races has been added this fresh wound—the French A-bomb test.

What reparation can ever be made for this ultimate insult directed at the very heartland of those races still in bondage! May God forgive us all our impotence in preventing such a deed.

Jeanne S. Bagby

Who's counting?

MONTROSE, COLO.

There is a Crusade for Freedom contest in progress with address, Mount Vernon 10, N.Y. The terms of entry: In 25 words write what you think is the most important thing people behind the Iron Curtain should know. My entry follows:

"America—inflation, strikes, unemployment, payola, nepotism, dishonest advertising, poisoned foods, Coca Cola, rigged shows, crime comics, juvenile delinquency, fast-buck mania, world record in crime and insanity."

Don't you think I am entitled to the award?

Pearl Cline

'The Wall Between'

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There were many fine books listed in the GUARDIAN Buying Service's Negro History Week page. It must have been an oversight that Ann Braden's magnificent **The Wall Between** was not included. This fine work has never received the attention it merits especially because it gives the non-political reader such insight into the struggle for Negro freedom. Cloth bound copies are still available at $5 from Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, and paperbacks at $1.85 ($1.25 to members) from Prometheus Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11.

Leo Huberman

London Daily Mirror

". . . 'and with all my worldly goods I thee endow'—that's a laugh for a start!"

Cobra skins, kids?

LAGOS, NIGERIA

I wish you and all the people long life and prosperity.

I am an African boy writing you from the capital town of Nigeria. It is a long time that I have been seeking pen-pals in America of both sexes. I am 17 years of age, 5 ft. 2 in. tall; I have black hair, dark complexion. My hobbies are reading, correspondence and exchanging ancient African ceremonial items such as cobra skins, tiger skins, crocodile skins, snake skins, handbags, wallets, slippers, ebony carvings, assorted kinds of ancient African and animal masks, jewelry, salt and pepper shakers, etc. All these African items I exchange for American products such as T-shirts, sports shirts, belts, ankle socks, towels, soap, ties, jackets, jeans, flash-bulb cameras, etc.

I promise to reply to all letters by airmail.

Monsuru Emiabata, 3, Pashi Street

Furlough for the future

BREEZY BANKS, N.C.

The militarists are not defending us, they are endangering us. It would be better to furlough the military personnel to bask in the Miami sun than to destroy the world. The only thing that will save mankind now is total, universal and immediate disarmament.

Vernon Ward.

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REPORT TO READERS

Leave Cuba alone!

TENSION BETWEEN CUBA and the U.S. was heightened by the explosion on March 4 of a munitions ship at a Havana dock which caused heavy casualties. Cuban accusations of "sabotage," and predictions in the N.Y. **Times** (March 7) that the charges would "unleash demands in the Administration and in Congress for retaliation against the Castro government," made it clear that an already aggravated situation was coming to a head.

The explosion occurred on the French freighter La Coubre, unloading ammunition brought from Belgium for the Cuban army. An hour later, while soldiers, firemen, Red Cross personnel and civilian volunteers were working frantically, another explosion inside the ship wrecked ten blocks of docks.

At least 54 were killed and over 300 injured. The Associated Press said (March 5): "It may be the heaviest accidental life loss in Cuba since a tidal wave swept Camaguey province in 1931 killing hunreds." The Cuban Cabinet decreed a day of mourning for the dead French crewmen, dockworkers and firefighters. There was a state funeral on March 5, with Premier Castro leading the procession.

In a speech at the cemetery, Castro said: "We have the right to believe that those who did not wish us to receive arms and tried to prevent that by diplomatic means are among those guilty of this sabotage." Washington promptly issued a "vigorous protest."

CUBANS HAVE AMPLE REASON TO FEEL frustrated and to believe that the U.S. would not be unhappy to see the Castro government collapse. They have observed with increasing concern the freedom with which anti-Castro forces have operated in the U.S. They have not been impressed by Washington's asserted inability to police the Florida coast to prevent plane sorties against Cuba by counter-revolutionaries. They remember how effectively Castro supporters before the revolution were pinpointed and hemmed in from New York to Texas.

They are painfully conscious that the constant threat of counter-revolution forces them to allocate precious funds for defensive military hardware which could go to raise their low standard of living. They know the U.S. is hampering even their efforts to obtain these defensive weapons. Last year Washington pressured Britain into reneging on the sale to Cuba of planes for defense. On March 5 a State Dept. spokesman, asked if Washington had intervened with the Belgian government to prevent the sale of arms to Cuba, said: "We have indicated to a number of friendly governments our concern over arms shipments to the Caribbean."

Washington intervenes even when the Castro government tries to promote mutual cooperation among the world's underdeveloped countries. Havana is seeking to convene an Asian-African-Latin American conference this fall to effect an exchange of goods, services and experience for the benefit of all the participants. But it is common knowledge in the UN that the U.S. is discouraging participation in the conference.

The U.S. press, openly hostile and promoting the grossest distortion of the news from Cuba, never sees fit to criticize the most insulting comments by Americans in public office. The latest came March 6 from Rep. Larry Brock (D-Neb.). He said:

"It is about time we took a big stick to [Castro]. Possibly we should take him back to the woodshed and give him an old-fashioned spanking. While we are at it, we might give him a clean shave, so that people could get a good look at him. Honest people don't usually hide their face behind a bush."

Like Abe Lincoln?

WE ARE A POWERFUL COUNTRY, with much greatness in our history; but despite our protestations of encouraging self-determination of all peoples, we have a most compromising record of intervening in nations to keep the dead past on the throne. Guatemala is the most recent example.

On March 5 the **Times** reported on the Caribbean Assembly (composed of North and South Americans) meeting in Puerto Rico while President Eisenhower was there. The report said:

"[The Assembly] agreed that Cuba was in the throes of a social revolution and the revolution reflected deep and legitimate popular aspirations. The Assembly agreed not to pass judgment on Cuba until the situation had developed."

The least measure of our greatness would be to abide by that decision. The largest measure would be to help Cuba achieve its democratic aspirations. But if the small minds in Washington cannot bring themselves to do the latter, then let them leave Cuba alone to work out its own destiny. We would ask no less for ourselves.

—THE GUARDIAN

OVERSEAS BASES AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Our living standards in peril

By Ed Sears

OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES of the U.S. now stand as a major threat to the living standards of the American people. This threat comes not so much from the increased tax burden they impose as from their effect on the U.S. balance of payments.

The balance of payments represents the difference between what Americans spend abroad and what foreigners spend here. A balance of payments surplus arises when foreigners spend more money here than Americans spend abroad and, conversely, a balance of payments deficit occurs when Americans spend more money abroad than foreigners spend here.

Foreigners spend money here in a number of ways: on goods, investments, interest and dividend payments to Americans, etc. Americans spend money abroad through imports, travel, investments, foreign "aid," and the maintenance of military establishments in other countries.

In most of the postwar years Americans have been spending more in other countries than foreigners have been spending here. As a result, the U.S. has been incurring, until the last two years, a balance of payments deficit of about $1 billion a year. American financial circles have considered a deficit of this size to be "normal" or "manageable," one that should not cause too much difficulties in the domestic economy.

SHARP RISE: In the last two years, however, this deficit has risen sharply. In 1958, it jumped to $3.6 billion. In 1959, it was over $4 billion. This increase is worrying U.S. authorities for a number of reasons.

As a result of the persistent postwar balance of payments deficit, foreigners now hold claims against the U.S. amounting to almost $19 billions. As the balance of payments deficit increases, these claims will continue to rise.

Most of these claims are held in the form of savings accounts in U.S. banks or short-term notes, both of which earn interest. These claims can also be used to take gold out of the country. The U.S. is required both by law and by treaty to surrender gold upon demand to foreigners holding claims on the U.S. dollar.

The U.S. now has in its possession slightly over $19 billion in gold. Of this amount, approximately $12 billion is being used as backing for its currency. This leaves it with a surplus of $7 billion to meet its international obligations. If the foreigners who now hold the $19 billion of claims against the U.S. decide to convert more than $7 billions into gold, the U.S. would be forced to give them some of the gold it is using as backing for its currency. This would bring about a reduction in the U.S. money supply and could result in financial chaos.

FIRST CLASS PANIC: Suppose, for example, that these foreigners decide to convert $8 billions of their claims into gold. The U.S. would be obligated to withdraw $1 billion of the gold it is using as backing for its currency. Since the present banking laws require that $100 of money in circulation be backed by approximately $4 in gold, the U.S. would be forced to reduce its money supply by about $25 billions to compensate for the loss of $1 billion in gold backing. Such a drastic reduction in the money supply would, by forcing banks to call loans, bring on a first class panic.

To insure itself against such a disaster, the United States can pursue one of two basic policies. One policy involves the maintenance of high interest rates at home and the other involves reducing the balance of payments deficit.

As long as interest rates in the United States are higher than in the rest of the world, foreigners will not want gold. They will prefer to keep their claims in the form of savings accounts and short-term notes. This is what happened in 1959.

Because of the administration's tight money policies, U.S. interest rates rose sharply in 1959. They were, in fact, among the highest in the world. As a result the gold outflow fell from $2.3 billion in 1958, when interest rates were low, to a little over $1 billion in 1959. This reduction in the gold outflow occurred even though the balance of payments deficit rose from $3.6 billion in the former year to over $4 billion in the latter.

LOWER LIVING STANDARDS: High interest rates, while effective in reducing the gold outflow, create other problems which are even more serious. They raise construction costs. Increased construction costs mean fewer homes, higher rents, fewer schools, playgrounds, health centers and other public buildings. High interest rates make all goods produced by industries which use credit extensively more expensive. High interest rates restrict the demand for many goods and services and, thereby, increase unemployment. High interest rates, in short, mean lower living standards.

The policy of relying on high interest rates to stem the gold outflow also runs counter to the prevailing methods of fighting recessions. During the three postwar recessions, the administration immediately lowered interest rates. Lower interest rates, in fact, are considered one of the prime weapons in fighting recessions. The presence of a large balance of payments deficit, however, seriously limits the possibilities of using this weapon. This means that future recessions will be much longer and much more severe.

Wiseman, Wall Street Journal

"Any suggestion on finding people with know-how to handle this lack of brain-power?"

As Edward M. Bernstein, a prominent Washington economist who was formerly Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury and Director of Research of the International Monetary Fund, recently put it:

"The capacity of this country to pursue policies designed to maintain a rising level of production and employment is threatened by the persistence of the balance of payments deficit and the deterioration in the reserve position of the United States." (**International Effects of U.S. Economic Policy**, Study Paper No. 16, Joint Congressional Economic Committee, Jan. 25, 1960, page 91.)

SCRAP THE BASES: There would be no need for a high interest rate policy if the government pursued a policy of reducing or eliminating its balance of payments deficit. This can be done by the simple expedient of eliminating its overseas bases. The costs of these bases are about equal to the deficit. In 1958, for instance, these costs were $3.4 billion and the deficit was $3.6 billion. In 1959, the costs were about $3.3 billion while the deficit was around $4 billion.

The balance of payments deficit thus exists only because the United States insists on maintaining military bases abroad. These bases can be justified only in terms of the cold war. By ending the cold war, the U.S. can dispose of these bases and, with them, their threat to American living standards.

NEW VIGIL PLANNED

Many scientists sign pledge never to work on germ warfare projects

A PLEDGE "never to participate in any effort to develop germ warfare, for such participation would constitute a crime against mankind," is being circulated among biologists at universities and research centers across the country. In New York, where the petition began, 50 faculty members and graduate students at Columbia University and 15 at the Rockefeller Institute signed in the first week.

The petition urges the government to "divert its present germ warfare establishments to research in biological and medical science so that disease may be conquered, not encouraged."

It adds that it is a "betrayal of 2,500 years of medical research to stockpile as weapons the agents of anthrax, cholera, dengue, tularemia, plague and other diseases which will remain as enemies of man long after the barriers between hostile armed camps have disappeared."

INSPIRED BY PAULING: The petition was initiated by David Dubnau, 23, and Richard Levins, 28, Columbia graduate students in biology. They said they were inspired by Dr. Linus C. Pauling's petition in 1958 against the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons, which drew 9,000 signatures.

Dubnau and Levins reported favorable reaction to the petition. Of the 70 faculty and graduate students at Columbia's zoology department, 50 signed and three refused; the remainder had not yet been reached. At Rockefeller Institute only one person refused to sign.

Columbia faculty signers included Dr. Lester G. Barth, chairman of the graduate zoology department, Teru Hayashi, well known for the development of artificial muscles, and L. C. Dunn, geneticist.

Copies of the petition are being sent to volunteer distributors at other universities and research centers. Petitions may be obtained from David Dubnau, Zoology Dept., Columbia University, N.Y.

OTHERS CAUTIOUS: Dr. Barth told the GUARDIAN that he believed the petition was "a reasonable statement" and a "fair representation" of the feelings of most biologists. He said he believed it would be taken up at other universities.

But scientists queried by the New York **Post** seemed to favor caution. Reaction varied from "I haven't the slightest sympathy with it," by Dr. James Neill, chairman of the Cornell Medical College bacteriology department, to "I'm all for such a ban," by Dr. Harry Baron, assistant professor of biochemistry at New York Medical College.

Dr. Eleanor Witkus, professor of bacteriology at Fordham, seemed to sum up the prevalent mood. "I don't sign anything," she said.

Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) is not reluctant to put his name down. Last year he proposed a resolution (HR 433) which reaffirms "our policy of non-use of biological and chemical weapons unless first used by our enemy."

FDR'S STAND: The United States and Japan were the only major powers not to sign the 1925 Geneva Convention renouncing chemical and biological warfare. But in 1943, during World War II, President Roosevelt proclaimed: "I state categorically that we shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies."

Technically, the statement stands as U.S. policy in the absence of a contradictory proclamation. But in recent months the Defense Dept. has laid greater stress on chemical and biological weapons as a "humane" answer to nuclear warfare. The Pentagon wants to increase chemical warfare appropriations from $40,000,000 to $125,000,000 in a few years.

Justus, Minneapolis Star

The Tome

Kastenmeier's resolution is aimed at curbing the Pentagon, but it has been bottled up in committee. Letters urging public hearings on HR 433 should be sent to Rep. Thomas E. Morgan, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, D.C.

FORT DETRICK VIGIL: Since July 1, 1959, a band of pacifists have maintained an appeal and vigil at the chemical warfare base at Fort Detrick, Md. By July 1, 1960, more than 1,000 persons will have participated in the vigil. The demonstration was to have lasted only a few days, but the response and urgent necessity for action prompted the sponsors to continue it.

Throughout the winter, seven days a week, at 7 a.m. a small group arrives at the base to stand in silent meditation. Every two hours new people come to relieve the demonstrators. At 5 p.m. the vigilers leave for an apartment in nearby Frederick where meals are served and cots provided.

Albert Bigelow, skipper of the ketch Golden Rule which tried to sail into the Eniwetok nuclear testing area, will discuss principles of non-violent protest at the vigil March 18 and 19.

NEW VIGIL PLANNED: A special vigil weekend for theological seminary students and faculty members will be held March 25-28. Discussions will be held on how "Christians can bear witness to the truth of the human community now threatened by the armaments race and the breakdown of moral values."

The Committee for Non-Violent Action, which sponsored demonstrations against nuclear tests in Nevada and at Eniwetok, is planning action at the Army Chemical Center in Edgewood, Md., next month. A vigil will begin April 8 at the plant entrance. While the vigil continues, a walk from Edgewood to the White House in Washington will be undertaken April 11-15. Beginning April 18, "some, under leanings of conscience, may protest against the immorality of gas warfare by openly walking into the chemical center."

Further information may be obtained from Brad Lyttle, CNVA, 158 Grand St., New York.

THE FATE OF THE REPUBLIC DEPENDS ON THE OUTCOME

The struggle for land in Iraq—and the saboteurs at work

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD

THE OUSTER of Minister of Agrarian Reform, Ibrahim Kubba, in mid-February marks another victory for the reactionary forces in Iraq which are trying to sabotage the land reform program. Kubba, who earlier served as Minister of Economy, has been the most progressive member of the Kassim Cabinet. He and his officials worked hard to carry out the reform.

The opposition to the reform, which has been building up for the past year, was aided by the non-cooperation of some other government departments. Agrarian reform officials who fought for peasant rights occasionally found themselves in jail on trumped-up charges.

The Ministry of Agrarian Reform was also steadily stripped of its authority and its responsibilities given to other ministries. Supervision of the division of the crop between landlord and peasant was, for example, recently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, headed by a big landlord and industrialist. Since most local administrations have strong landlord connections, any slackening of zeal by central authorities to insure an honest division of the crop—or carrying out the reform—will be exploited to the hilt by the landlords.

The struggle over the land reform is the crucial one in Iraq today. The fate of the Republic depends on its outcome.

MODERATE AIM: The reform is a very moderate one aimed only at eliminating the bigger feudalists and their political power. Yet it has been opposed not only by the anti-Republican fifth column composed of adherents of the old regime in and out of the administration and the army, big landlords and pro-Nasserites, but also by the dominant section of commercial businessmen.

Their opposition stems in part from the fact that peasant consumption has increased (owing to the reduction of the landlord's share of the crop) and the amount of surplus product going to the towns has thereby been reduced. This immediate dislocation of the level of internal trade outweighs for many businessmen the long-term benefits the reform will bring by enlarging local markets. Furthermore, moderate as the reform is, it is made in the context of a powerful popular and peasants' movement. Frightened by the strength of this movement, many businessmen are prepared to forgo eventual economic gains to hold their political position.

The offensive against the land reform is enormously aided by the local administrations, appointed during Nuri Said's time and still largely unpurged. They are conditioned by long years of service to the feudalists to conscious or unconscious opposition to the reform.

THE BACKGROUND: To understand the struggle now going on over the land it is necessary to realize that the great majority of the people—peasants and workers—are now better off than before the Revolution and that their attitude to the Republic remains positive. The government has kept its promise to give them seed and credits and they therefore expect its promise to give them land to be fulfilled eventually, and they have won material benefits.

Workers' income is up 20 to 30% and peasants consume more since they no longer have to give most of their crop to the landlord. If it is difficult to detect improvement in their living standards, peasants themselves are quick to point out: "Now most of us have shoes," or "We have clothes without patches."

Some peasants also can now fix up their reed or mud huts a bit better since they no longer have to move every six months because the landlord cultivates only a part of his estate each season. They may now plant a tree or shrub, something never permitted before, and nearly every village has a radio.

Ask any peasant, however, what is his most important gain from the Revolution and he will invariably answer: "The freedom and rights we have won." All speak of having beer "in a closed box before" but now being able "to see in all directions." Even in the most miserable villages there is self-respect or the beginning of it. This has been won by the peasants themselves through their peasant associations.

MANY TWIGS: These associations, though most are now illegal, continue to function. They help the peasants to increase production, to work together on common tasks, to dress and live more neatly. If a peasant is arrested, the association cultivates his land: if he is driven from the land by the landlord, his fellow members give a share of their own land, seed and water to make up a plot for him; if he is killed, they work the land for his family. Altogether a remarkable number of peasants have come to understand, as they themselves put it, that "one twig is easily broken. A bundle of twigs bound together with a rope is too hard to break. We are the twigs. The rope is the association."

Hence, despite disappointments, arrests of leaders and activists, systematic victimization by the state machine in some areas, peasants and workers remain the strongest supporters of the Republic and consider it their own. They prove this concretely.

Organized workers (80% of industrial workers) contribute several hours overtime a week—usually six—without pay in state and private national enterprises to increase production; they forbid strikes and avoid clashes over wage increases.

Peasants' associations clear irrigation channels, dig ditches, build dams and perform any other task required by the land reform. When the government started a state farm recently in Kut, the peasant associations prepared the entire irrigation system and did all the ploughing without pay.

LAND REFORM: Implementation of the land reform is in fact inseparable from the question of the peasants' associations, thousands of which spread over the land in the months following the revolution. The mass initiative represented in these associations, which are unprecedented in the history of the Middle East and of Iraq itself, brought a swift change: 1,250,000 acres were requisitioned from the landlords and rented directly to the peasants through their associations.

Because of technical weaknesses (lack of maps, surveys, etc.), the reform faced great difficulties which could be overcome only with the help of the associations.

The peasant movement reached its highest point in the spring of 1959 when a general conference of the associations was held and the government promulgated a law legalizing their General Federation and empowering its executive committee to legalize local peasant associations.

Then came the general political reversal which followed the crushing of the Shawaf revolt. The peasant associations became the chief target of attack of the fifth column and reactionary forces: hundreds of leaders were arrested by local administrations; landlords ousted many from the land and refused seed, water and credit to peasant activists.

REFORM HALTED: In September the government annulled the law of peasant associations and gave authority to legalize them to the local administrations. Under the new law only 17% of the associations have been legalized, while licenses have been given to thousands of new associations controlled for the most part by landlords or their agents. These new associations have proved unable even to distribute government aid and credits honestly among the peasants. They serve the landlords' interests by acting as their witnesses in court cases, denying loans to non-cooperative peasants and so on.

In this situation the land reform has come almost to a halt. In the second half of 1959 only 180,000 acres were requisitioned from landlords. This means that big landlords still retain more than

AN IRAQI PEASANT
They mean to keep their unity

4,000,000 acres subject to requisition. If the very biggest feudalists were eliminated in the earlier period, many still remain.

The land reform now faces a deepening dilemma since it must work through the legalized associations, most of which do not represent the peasants. And, as experience has shown, the land reform cannot be carried out without the mass support and initiative of the peasants. This can be obtained only through their genuine associations.

In the present revolutionary ebb, however temporary, some sections of the peasantry have become discouraged. But an important section—Communist Party leaders claim the major section—are thinking more radically than in the earlier period. A peasant leader in Kut put it this way:

"We feel that the landlords and imperialists want to divide us as they always did before. Whether we get land or not is not too urgent. Our main aim is to keep our unity. This is what changed our lives, and we will keep it."

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American Theater in N. Y. shows 'Mexican' March 16-18

THE AMERICAN THEATER, the only theater on Manhattan's Lower East Side to show Russian films with English subtitles, will present (in Russian) Jack London's **The Mexican** on Wed., Thurs., and Fri., March 16, 17, and 18, at 238 E. 3rd St., N.Y.C., CA 8-6875. A short film on the Moiseyev Dancers and the latest Russian newsreel will accompany the film.

On Wed., Thurs., and Fri., March 23, 24 and 25, the American Theater will show **The Flying Carpet**, a new Russian film.

From a Soviet book of cartoons by Cherepanov

POETRY AND LILACS IN THE SPACE AGE

Soviets debate science versus art

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

A QUIET REVOLUTION in matters of taste and quality is going on in the Soviet Union. Public discussion through the newspapers is very lively. **Izvestia** announced in January it was opening a crusade against shoddy goods—everything from ill-fitting suits to heavy, cumbersome radio and TV sets. It fired the first shot by giving half a page—in place of the usual front-page editorial—to a letter from a group of skilled factory workers complaining of shoddiness and shabbiness in an era when Soviet cosmic rockets were flying around the moon. **Izvestia**, of course, is the official organ of the Soviet government; its editor Alexei Adzhubei is also Khrushchev's son-in-law.

Questions of taste and quality of goods are perhaps bound to come to the fore when people shift from sharing rooms to receiving new apartments. Within the next six years two of every five Soviet families will move into new apartments and homes built during the 7-year-plan. About 80,000 Muscovites got new apartments last year—and the next thing they want is a chance to furnish and decorate them in a modern way.

BITTER QUARREL: It is not only in the material world that this quiet revolution is going on. Between Sept. 2 and Dec. 24 last year, **Komsomolskaya Pravda**, organ of the Young Communist League, published a running discusison on "The Moral Complexion of the Soviet Man." It all started when Ilya Ehrenburg got a letter from a Leningrad University student, "Nina," which told of her bitter quarrel with an engineer, "Yuri," whom she loved deeply but whose views on the arts she could not accept. She asked for advice. Ehrenburg gave it in a long article.

For Yuri, an excellent engineer, the arts had no place in the space age. Chekhov was a lot of nonsense. Only "ladies with dogs on a leash" could be interested in novels. And so on. "I am writing this not to unburden myself," Nina told Ehrenburg. "If there is any weeping to be done I can do it in my pillow. I simply wanted to ask what you think of Yuri's attitude? Do you think the arts are going to pot and love should be approached more simply, the way Yuri does? Sometimes, I begin to wonder . . ."

Ehrenburg, who said he usually answered such letters personally, replied in a 2,500-word article. Of course, he comes out strongly for co-existence between the arts and science. Of Yuri, he writes: "He probably knows all about electro-dynamics and is undoubtedly familiar with other sciences. At school and then at college, he was introduced to problems in economics and sociology. No one can say he is not an educated man. But his sensibilities are like virgin soil. There is a direct connection between his lack of understanding of the arts and his failure to understand Nina, between his sneering attitude towards Blok's poetry and the Hermitage Museum and his attitude towards his mother and his college friends. [Nina had described how he neglected both as 'he no longer had anything in common' with them.] His development was one-sided; that is his misfortune."

THE DISCUSSION: Ehrenburg's own attitude is best summed up in a few of his lines: "The arts must not be allowed to lag behind the sciences . . . Cultivation of the sensibilities must not be discarded in favor of one-sided technical development. The realism of activity must not be allowed to crush the romance of the spirit, the striving towards ideals, inner enthusiasm . . . A collective is a group of individuals, not ciphers. A real communist society is impossible unless each member is a harmoniously and comprehensively developed individual . . ."

One would like to think eveyone agreed with Ehrenburg. But not at all. The first reply published was from an engineer, I. Poletayev, in defense of Yuri. "Can one possibly say that life today is coming more and more into the tow of artists and poets? Nothing of the kind! It is science and engineering that shape the profile of our epoch and exert increasing influence on tastes, morals and behavior. Our lives are guided by the creative force of reason and not by feelings. We have no time to dote: 'Ah Bach! Ah Blok!' Art is receding to the background, to the sphere of rest and recreation and I am just as sorry for this as Ehrenburg. It seems to me that a society with many businesslike Yuris and few Ninas is stronger than one with a lot of Ninas and few Yuris."

LILAC SPRIG: There were a number of letters in similar vein, but fortunately they were insignificant—in numbers and in quality—compared to those that supported Ehrenburg. Another engineer, R. Leonidov, started off by sneering at a suggestion that space travelers would carry a sprig of lilac: "Yes, man will need a sprig of lilac in the Cosmos as well. But to keep it alive in the dark and cold of the Cosmos, it will have to be protected. Shining containers filled with liquid air will enable it to breathe. It will be kept warm by the semi-conductors of the solar batteries. Artificial gravitation apparatus will secure a normal circulation of the juices in its lustrous leaves. Slabs of lead and graphite screens will preserve it from the deadly currents of Cosmic rays; and the super-strong envelope of the space ship will shield it from the blows of the swiftest meteorites . . ."

He asks why there are "no reproaches for lovers of art for their ignorance of science and technology" but is nevertheless convinced that "in the pockets of their space suits, the astronauts of the future, real men and women of great science, will carry books of verses on their flights to the Moon, Mars, Venus and the stars."

The manager of the Kursk region Chapayev Collective farm, I. Korobov, described how backward the farm was when he took over. "There was no radio and no electricity. Hard drinking and violence was the rule on holidays. I hardly knew where to begin but it occurred to me that music was something everyone needed, for it warmed the soul, softened people, made them gentler somehow and more responsive. One of my first cares, therefore, was a radio system. Our village has no cottage now without its books, radio and musical instruments. There is not a family among us that is not susceptible to art, which, according to Poletayev, has receded somewhere 'to the background.' I simply cannot imagine life without art, music or songs."

THE AIM: M. Kovalzon, Candidate of Philosophy, suggested that Poletayev and others who extolled Yuri as "a man of action" had forgotten "the main thing, why we need 'action' and 'men of action.' Is 'action' to be pursued for its own sake? No," writes Kovalzon. "Our motto is 'man is the aim of our development.' And the development of production, science, art, physical culture and sports are only the means and conditions for the all-round development and flowering of the human personality."

Samples of a cross-section of other letters reflected similar ideas:

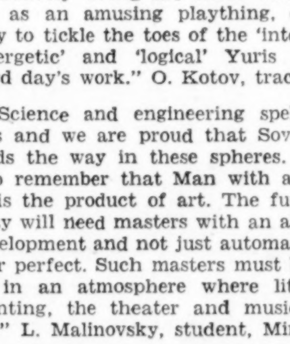
"Gravely wrong are those who regard art as an amusing plaything, destined only to tickle the toes of the 'intelligent,' 'energetic' and 'logical' Yuris after a hard day's work." O. Kotov, tractorist.

"Science and engineering spell progress and we are proud that Soviet man leads the way in these spheres. But we also remember that Man with a capital M is the product of art. The future society will need masters with an all-round development and not just automats, however perfect. Such masters must be reared in an atmosphere where literature, painting, the theater and music flourish." L. Malinovsky, student, Minsk.

THE MAJORITY: Finally, Ehrenburg entered the field again to close that phase of the discussion. He said he had studied 1,000 letters **Komsomolskaya Pravda** had received and this was but a fraction of the total. Sixty of the thousand supported Yuri. The rest mainly came in a "flood" defending the arts after the publication of Poletayev's letter.

Ehrenburg finds that some admirers of technology "go so far that they reject philosophy along with the arts, saying 'it's not the artists and philosophers who make life' but the technologists. But," he writes, "the illiterate Senegalese who signed the Stockholm Appeal by making a notch in a piece of wood was closer to an understanding of humanism and culture than the specialists who worked on 'Hilda,' the . . . atom bomb."

The main point, Ehrenburg said, "was



not the place which the arts should occupy, whether second or twenty-second place, but what our Soviet people should or should not be like." He grieved that there "was still often a discrepancy between a person's splendid qualities on the job and his inertness, lack of sensitivity and even coarseness in his daily life. The sooner we can get rid of these contradictions, the fewer people there will be who are spiritually narrow-minded and who want to limit the culture of others, the closer we shall be both to the moon and, what is more important, to communism.

"How can the arts help us? Primarily by cultivating our sensibilities. Of course, science, work, family and environment all go to educate a person, but it is hard without the arts to overcome indifference, arouse fine emotions and get rid of, or stifle, bad emotions. Knowledge develops in man the ability to think; art teaches him to feel deeply." And Ehrenburg concludes: "Perhaps we should . . . discuss our mode and manner of life, our ethics and our aspirations, and decide what we have accomplished and what remains to be done?"

THE LINK: This discussion by correspondence aroused enormous interest and has doubtless acted as a brake on a tendency among some of the technical intellectuals to drop values of the past and many of the present as well and go rushing ahead to conquer nuclear physics and outer space.

One can feel a link between this discussion and the **Izvestia** article and "letters to the editor" published in many of the other papers. There is a deep soul-searching going on about the "mode and manner of Soviet life, ethics and aspirations."

Noting the considerable economic and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, the group of workers from the Frazer machine-tool plant who wrote to **Izvestia** asked: "But why are there still so many shoddy, ill-made goods? Why do we often spoil the joy of those moving into the new apartments only to find floors that buckle, doors that won't close, windows that let in drafts? They have been dreaming of that apartment for so long! Let's face it! Anyone can see that people are angry about this slipshod work. They reason this way. 'We've built rockets that fly further than any others; even around the moon. First-class airliners like the TU's. An atomic icebreaker—but we are making bad wardrobes, and sideboards so bad you can't stand looking at them." The authors went on to criticize ill-cut clothing, the size and weight of radio and TV sets and many other shortcomings and say the main trouble is the "Okay! Good enough!" attitude of many of the workers. They complained about conservatives "still living in the world of shortages" who are only concerned with turning out "volume by ruble value" and care nothing about quality and appearance of goods.

DRIVE IS ON: Public awareness that there is something wrong in matters of values, of taste and quality, of mode and manner of life, is the first essential to setting it right. The terms "high level or low-level culture of production" are heard very much these days as people examine articles in the shops.

Newspapers are wide open for letters of complaint about shoddy goods, TV sets or refrigerators that break down; poorly packaged food in the self-service shops; lack of decent dance-halls; how marriage ceremonies should be brightened up—about everything which affects "mode and manner of life."

It is clear that from now on, the drive to outstrip the West in industrial production is to be coupled with one for quality and finish; and the drive to put man into outer space is to be coupled with one to put a sprig of lilac in his hand and a book of verse in the pocket of his space suit.

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE LEAD THE FIGHT HERE AGAINST SPAIN'S REIGN OF TERROR

World-wide movement grows for amnesty for Franc

Spain, now in the world spotlight because of the deal to provide West Germany with missile and other bases on its territory, today is suffering a new wave of political repression. Early last month an official government statement listed what it called an intensification of "subversive activity" in recent weeks.

Political arrests increased during the month after two small home-made bombs exploded in Madrid, one of them killing the man carrying it. Most observers considered the incidents a provocation. By Feb. 23 Madrid correspondents for British papers estimated that the nation-wide roundup of suspected "subversives" had bagged between 150 and 200 victims. Since then the Spanish press has suppressed all reports of political arrests.

Because of Spain's increasing importance as a bulwark of the Free World, which was bolstered by President Eisenhower's visit in December, there has been increased activity within Spain and around the world, with emphasis on demands for amnesty for the country's thousands of political prisoners. On Dec. 14 Parliamentary Speaker Esteban Bilbao was presented in Madrid with petitions for amnesty bearing 15,000 signatures. Since then the amnesty movement has grown around the world.

In this country the campaign is being given a push by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They planned a protest rally in New York city on Sunday, March 13, at 2 p.m., at Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. (See ad on page 10 for details).

On March 22, from 5:15 to 7 p.m., the VALB will conduct a picket line before New York's Spanish Consulate at 53rd St. and Madison Ave., to greet the arrival of Spain's Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella with demands for amnesty.

The following excerpts are from a report on Spain's political prisoners prepared by an exiled Spanish scholar.

By Miguel Sanchez-Mazas

IN THE MONTH of June, 1958, Generalissimo Franco told French journalist Serge Groussard of the Paris daily, **Le Figaro**, that in Spain people had not been condemned, nor were they then being condemned for "political crimes," and that the only people in jail were those guilty of common crimes: "It can be asserted," he said, "that since the 1939 victory, people were punished only for crimes against the common law" . . . "No one was harassed for his ideas" . . . "Only those who had committed violations such as plunder, robbery, murder, had to account for their actions."

In the name of the political prisoners who were in jail at the very time that Franco made these statements, two prisoners wrote to the Dictator, pointing out that they were not common criminals but had been convicted for specifically political reasons and were serving long, severe terms in the Burgos prison. The letters were published and widely discussed in the foreign press.

The result of these appeals (written in accordance with regulations and having the Prison Director's permission) was that the signers were put in solitary confinement and held incommunicado; they responded by declaring a hunger strike.

A very short time after this occurrence, several European newspapers wrote: "Franco refuted by his own police." In fact, from that very month of June when the "Caudillo" made his statement denying that anybody in Spain was harassed for his ideas until his aggressive speech in April, 1959, numerous political arrests, court cases and convictions occurred, one after the other.

[Here the document lists in detail 11 political prosecutions between June 19, 1958, to the last week of March, 1959, involving a total of more than 253 persons. The cases included trade unionists, intellectuals and Catholic groups and ranged politically from an admitted Communist to a member of the Falange Old Guard who was tried for being anti-Franco. Sentences ranged up to 20 years.

The author reports that torture was used in many of the cases, and cites the trial of 32 Asturian miners, two of whom were driven insane by brutal treatment. A third attempted suicide].

CERTAINLY, the moral and political significance of the thousands in prison and forcible exile today can be grasped only in the light of the whole picture of Franco's reprisals against his political-social opponents throughout the 20-year period from 1939 to 1959. And we must keep in mind that the present political prisoners are but a tiny minority surviving the numerous summary executions of the 1939-43 period above all, and, to a lesser extent, of the 1946-48 shooting down of Republicans who had rushed forward confident there would be a change of regime when the fascist countries were defeated . . .

Recently various foreign publications, especially the Italian, have agreed on the figure of 480,000 shot by the Franco regime as the total of the first period of repression or reprisal. This figure seems quite valid if we bear in mind the tremendous number of victims in some of the early massacres carried out by certain generals—12,000 shot by Queipo de Llano in Seville; 25,000 by Garcia Valino in Navarre; the ravage committed in the bull ring in Badajoz, etc., and the tempo at which the military courts, scattered all over the nation's area, "worked" during the whole period of 1939 to 1943.

We should also bear in mind the many victims of other reprisal "operations" such as the ones carried out by the social-political shock brigades in 1948-49 against the Socialist miners in the whole Asturian region. They dragged these men from their homes in the various coal mining towns, and took them tied together to the town of Pozu Funeres (Asturias) where they threw them into a deep dark cavern together with a lot of gasoline cans and burned them there.

BUT LET US go on to today's political prisoners. These are mainly in the prisons and penal institutions of Burgos, San Miguel de los Reyes (Valencia), Santona (Santander), el Puerto de Santa Maria (Cadiz), Alcala de Henares (Madrid), Carabanchel (Madrid), Cuellar (Segovia), Ocana (Toledo), el Dueso, etc.

The official statistics of the General Prison Administration for the year 1957 indicated that out of a total of 17,954 prisoners, 6,349 had not been convicted for routine common crimes. That is to say, 6,140 were guilty of crimes against the "internal security of the State," 43 had been convicted by the Special Military Districts, 142 others were still "at the disposal" of this same juridical district, 21 were guilty of the crimes of Communism or free-masonry and three were guilty of crimes "against the external security of the State." These figures, which have been reprinted in many foreign newspapers, show that at that time 30% of the prison population was jailed for political reasons.

In January, 1959, the secret political and trade union organizations combined their respective data to prepare a partial statistical report on political prisoners. It is partial in the sense that it covers only people jailed for their connection with these organizations. Here are the figures summarizing that report which is up-to-date as of January, 1959:

Men: Political prisoners not accused of common crimes—880; accused of free-masonry—12; political prisoners accused of common crimes—470; total—1,362.

Women: Political prisoners not accused of common crimes—35; accused of free-masonry—3; political prisoners accused of common crimes—10; total—48. Total of men and women—1,410.

But bearing in mind the remaining political prisoners not included in this partial report (for example, those guilty of insulting the Chief of State, etc., not connected with the activities of these organizations), the figure agreed upon by most of the responsible foreign press—from the New York **Times** to the Italian **l'Espresso—is** 5,000 political prisoners in Spain in 1959.

TO UNDERSTAND the ease with which the representatives of the Spanish government deny these figures, suffice it to recall that all activities which are described as **political** in the language of the democratic world are considered **common** crimes in present-day Spain because they are illegal, and actions like the following are punishable by law:

- Attempting to reorganize any political party or any free union of workers or university or professional people.
- Expressing in public any ideas opposed to the principles of the "National Movement."
- Going on strike in any instance, or instigating a strike, or defending the right to strike.
- Holding political meetings.
- Maintaining contact with exiled organizations.
- Writing or disseminating papers, pamphlets or books of a political, sociological, religious, etc., nature not approved by the government censorship.
- Criticizing the conduct of the government or any of its subdivisions in any manner whatsoever.

With regard to the number of those forcibly exiled, or Spaniards living abroad without a Spanish passport and deprived of all rights of Spanish nationality, the conservative London **Times** estimated that in France alone they numbered 165,000 in 1959; according to this newspaper, however, only 8,000 of the Spaniards living in France under conditions of compulsory exile have asked for French citizenship. The rest are Spaniards who hope to return and have been hoping to return for 20 years. "The exiles," says the report, "keep up their own traditions and have a powerful trade union system." It continues: "There is even a stream of refugees across the frontier, especially since the strikes in Spain. During this last year, the new arrivals have reached about 1,000; most of them fled since the university movement actions." Then it goes on to speak of some Spanish personalities hostile to Franco or without Spanish passport, like the cellist, Pablo Casals; the artist, Pablo Picasso; the dress designer Balenciaga; or the actress, Maria Casares—and winds up remembering that "D. Salvador Madariaga, whom some Spanish Republicans consider the most illustrious of their outstanding personalities, lives not in France but near Oxford."

Recently there appeared in the big illustrated Italian weekly, **Italia Domani**, an extensive account of the many leading lights of Spanish culture who are in compulsory exile. This account was signed by D. Jose Maria de Semprun Gurea, a Catholic intellectual and Spanish Republican living in Rome.

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"What's all the fuss about, Herr Doktor? I'm a Christian Democrat, too."

'They have paid in full'—O'Casey

Following is the text of a message of greetings from Sean O'Casey to the protest rally called by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St., New York City, at 2 p.m. Sunday, March 13:

VETERANS of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Legion of the Rear Guard, greetings, and a blessing on all you say or do to open the jail gates for those veterans, men and women, who still sit in darkness and in the valley of the shadow of death within the Franco prisons. It is high time they saw the sun again.

It is time they left the narrow place where the windows are barred to live in a home and look out through friendly glass-paned windows, look out of them on field or street to greet the neighbors passing by. There is a tight bandeau round the head of Spain today. It is not of silk nor of lace, but of iron, and it is clamped on tight. It is time now that the warmer hands of democracy loosened it, indeed, took it off and set the head of beautiful Spain free from this vile pressure, replacing it with a circlet, showing color and a wider kindliness to the Spanish people.

These veterans have paid the full price to the spirit of revenge; they have given too much, suffered too long. To keep them jailed is neither law nor justice, it is implacable savagery, and all democratic peoples should demand their release. Twenty years, ten years, is an age to spend in jail. This is the one world we know, and it is a terrible thing to be kept from living in it. I pray all your work for the release of our comrades may be successful, that they may come amongst us again, stand under a free sky, and say Salud to comrade and to neighbor.

Long Live the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade!

—Sean O'Casey

...anco's political prisoners

About this article

The author of the document from which the above excerpts are taken is Miguel Sanchez-Mazas, former professor of mathematics at the University of Madrid and now a voluntary exile in Geneva, Switzerland, where he has lived since leaving Spain in 1958. He was one of the founders of Agrupacion Socialista Universitaria and author of the "First of February" manifesto which was the basis of the organization now known as "New Opposition" on campuses in Spain. Many of the students who signed the manifesto have since been arrested for their action.

The entire document here excerpted is now available as a 32-page pamphlet published by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Copies are available from their office at Room 405, 49 E. 21st St., New York 10, N.Y. Single copies, 25 cents; five for $1; 20 for $2.

AS FOR THE OPINION held by judges, lawyers and outstanding personalities in the field of law in the democratic countries with regard to the police and judicial procedures used by the Franco regime in relation to its political opponents, it is enough to take account of the opinions expressed by four eminent attorneys who comprise the Committee of the Intl. Assn. of Democratic Jurists.

This Committee went to Spain in March, 1959, to examine the exact state of political repression. The Committee consisted of Henri I. Douzon, attorney of the Paris court; Maurice Cornell, attorney and university instructor at Brussels; John Platts-Mills, New Zealand attorney who practices law and teaches in England; and Mario Berlinguer, former senator and now an Italian deputy.

The latter published a lengthy account entitled **Four Jurists in Franco Spain,** in

the Rome daily **Avanti.** In this report he describes the most significant aspects—to the extent that he was able to observe them—of justice for political prisoners under the Franco regime. Of the three articles that comprise the documented study by Professor Berlinguer, we believe it fitting to excerpt a few paragraphs which expose the oppressive methods used by the present Spanish regime against its political enemies and the impression they make on a democratic Western jurist:

"THE PROBLEM basically is not only a problem of prison treatment nor of the number of political prisoners. It is the problem of the prevailing laws, a product of mental aberration, increasingly cruel and enforced with monstrous procedures. By comparison, one is tempted to consider even the fascist laws of the peace and war periods, which we remember so well, as notable monuments of progressive civilization! . . .

"It may be said that 20 years after the end of the civil war, there is in effect in Spain today the punitive kind of justice that prevails on a battlefield, without applying even the most elementary guaranties that have always been respected elsewhere, even in the military courts that have to pass sentence within range of front line fire.

"Recently, due to distrust of judges who resisted the most intolerable demands for reprisal, they established right within the ordinary jurisdiction a special section through the expedient of the so-called 'Judge No. 2.' To this judge they pass on the cases that are to be decided with lightning speed and on the basis of the most 'summary' procedure.

"But even more serious are the laws that govern the Military Courts. Up to May 2, 1943, these operated at an intense pace, especially against civilians and, it may be said, without any clearly defined limitations to their jurisdiction. On that date there appeared a new law which established special sections of these courts to decide on political crimes, even the most trifling, committed by civilians; for instance, such crimes as spreading false and tendentious news, strikes, secret meetings, insults, unauthorized possession of weapons, dissemination of propaganda books, pamphlets and leaflets, and slogans written on walls, etc. All these are treated like the crime of military rebellion with penalties extending from 12 years to a death sentence.

"This is the law that was applied on a truly mass scale last year at the time of the Asturian strikes in the case of the Higinio Cangas group, the Felix Navarro group in Madrid (for leaflets), the Leoncio Pena group in Bilbao, the trial in Zaragoza and many other sensational cases already well known broad. It is obvious that it has always been a matter of reprisal against any disagreement with the Regime . . .

"It should be added that these monstrous methods of justice are practiced against the defendant as soon as he is transferred to jail and before he has a chance to recover from the police interrogation in which torture is a general rule . . ."

THE PRACTICE of torture and ill-treatment against political prisoners is customary and routine in the Spanish police and judicial system, as Berlinguer pointed out. Several newspapers recently recalled how Tomas Centeno, the eminent Socialist, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, died in 1953 at the hands of the Spanish Police Social Brigade. He died in the underground cellars of the General Security Headquarters at Puerta del Sol in Madrid while being questioned under torture directed by the Police Commissioner Conesa who still continues to do violence to new generations of Spaniards.

In the month of March, 1959, the defense attorneys for a group of 16 addressed a letter to the Archbishop; this group had been summoned before the War Council held in Barcelona on Dec. 29 and 30, 1958, to be sentenced for the labor troubles which had occurred in that city in March 1958. This letter was made public and we cite the following paragraphs from it:

"The members of the Social Brigade, who act on orders from Commissioner Creix in the Police Dept. headquarters, barbarously trample upon the arrested people and apply every type of torture that in their opinion is infallible in discovering the guilty.

"Miguel Nunez Gonzalez and Manuel Martinez Arcos are hung by their arms from the ceiling for long hours at a stretch; Federico Olive Mana is inhumanly beaten until his body becomes nothing but one great open sore, so that he cannot even go back to the cells and must remain for eight days in one of the departments of the headquarters, stretched out on a straw sack, almost lifeless, without strength to help himself or to take food. We set aside the **scientific** tortures, which consist of placing the arrested person in an ideal position to receive measured blows in strategic spots, administered with special instruments—rods, sticks, thick and wet ropes. Also electric currents are applied with the well-known cerebral shock.

"Of course, this is accompanied with jokes and jeers, obscene and insolent language, offensive hints that are humiliating to any self-respecting man. And these can be answered only once because the Department and its men make it their business to show with an immediate and brutal reaction that there is no force in all humanity to protect a man when he is face to face with the enslaving force that they represent. The result is clear: all the prisoners sign the confessions to the satisfaction of the police."

THERE HAVE BEEN repeated investigations of the torture methods used by the police in the most recent period. On Feb. 7, 1958, a group of political personalities from the United States—among them Norman Thomas, Victor Reuther, Frances R. Grante, Robert J. Alexander and Louise Crane—sent a telegram to President Eisenhower, protesting against the arrest and abuse to which a group of anti-Franco students had been subjected.

We quote this paragraph: "During recent weeks some 200 university students and workers in Madrid have been arrested and many of them subjected to torture for the mere suspicion of being opposed to the Franco regime and for the unfounded accusation of being Communists."

Twenty years after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the democratic world acknowledges with astonishment that in Spain there is a system that represses the most universally accepted political rights; this Regime retains in prison thousands of persons guilty only of being opposed to its policies; many of these people have been imprisoned for ten, 12 and 15 years; and finally, new acts of persecution and new trials against young citizens, belonging to new opposition movements, have been getting more intense throughout the 1956-59 period.

THE GENERALISSIMO AND DER FUEHRER IN 1940
Hitler is gone, but Franco carries on in his spirit

About Leoncio Pena

NOW SERVING a long prison sentence in Spain, Pena is a veteran of both the Spanish Civil War and World War II as a combat soldier in the U.S. Army. In the Civil War he defended Bilbao until it fell in 1936-37. He escaped to Asturias where he fought until it was overrun. He made his way to Catalonia where he fought with the Carabineros and rose to the rank of captain. When Spain fell, he made his way to the U.S. after being interned in France. He joined the U.S. Army and, although he knew no English, insisted on combat duty. He fought with the 77th Division on Guam, Leyte, Ie Shima and Okinawa. Twice wounded, he was awarded the Bronze Star and promoted to staff sergeant. Although an American citizen by then, he went to France in 1948 and returned to Spain in 1953. Accused of "organization of strikes and incitement to action against the public peace and order," he was sentenced to 20 years in November, 1958. His sentence was later reduced to 16 years in a "partial amnesty." He can receive mail and parcels (food and clothing) at this address: Leoncio Pena, 8 a Galeria, (Presos Politicos), Prison Central de Burgos, Spain.

British writers sign new appeal

The following letter, signed by seven of Britain's best-known writers, appeared in the London Times on March 1:

NEW WAVES of arrests are reported from Spain. We are informed that on Feb. 7 Luis Goytisolo was arrested in Barcelona. His book **Las Afueras** won several major literary awards in Spain and is achieving some international recognition. Last summer, in common with many Spaniards of distinction in literature, science, the arts, and other fields, he signed an appeal addressed to the Spanish Ministry of Justice on behalf of his thousands of compatriots imprisoned or exiled for political reasons.

"Nothing," declared this appeal, "now justifies their exclusion from the work of the nation. The time has come for the last wounds to heal, for the removal of the obstacles preventing reconciliation between Spaniards. A necessary and effective step would be a general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles."

As signatories to a similar appeal to the Spanish government issued in Britain last December, and as writers, we ask what is to be the fate of Luis Goytisolo and those arrested with him. Are they to be detained indefinitely without charge? Will they be physically ill-treated at the hands of the police before ultimately being accused of "military rebellion," like so many before them who have done no more than express criticism of the regime? Will they be denied elementary rights of defense in a civil court and brought before a military tribunal?

It is important that our abhorrence of these methods of political repression should be repeated again and again and that protest should be made to the Spanish authorities, here and in Madrid, by all who feel as we do.

Pamela Hansford Johnson; C.P. Snow; Rosamond Lehmann; Vera Brittain; Angus Wilson; Storm Jameson; John Osborne

Senate filibuster

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Sparkman: "Res ipso loquitor. N'est ce pas? What I started to say was, that I wish my friend from Illinois, great argufier that he is . . . ."

LITTLE SLEEP: Nor is it likely that Sen. Clark got much sleep this typical filibuster night, for he had to respond to quorum calls at 12:30 a.m., 1:52 a.m., 4:51 a.m., and 6:45 a.m. At any time any Senator can require a quorum of 51 Senators on the floor. This is used by filibusterers to harass the majority and provide themselves with rest and relief. The Dixiecrats hide out during quorum calls, making it more difficult and time-consuming to round up 51 non-Southern Senators so the filibuster can go on.

An armistice in the filibuster recessed the Senate at 5:31 p.m. Saturday, March 5, until noon Monday, March 7. The Senate had been in continuous session (except for a technical 15-minute break Wednesday morning to clean up the litter on the Senate floor) nearly 137 hours. Ten days of semi-filibuster had preceded the round-the-clock sessions. At least another week of filibuster was in prospect.

The House of Representatives was to begin its consideration of civil rights on Thursday, March 10. It would spend days debating and voting on the Celler Bill (HR 8601) and the many amendments expected in an effort to strengthen it.

GAIETY GONE: By the end of the first week, the picture of the filibuster as a quaint quirk of our democracy, full of cute "human interest" touches such as the color of Sen. Prouty's bedroom slippers, who snored the loudest on the Senate floor, and the freshness and variety of Sen. Margaret Chase Smith's (R-Maine) wardrobe had grown stale. The gimmick photographs and the staging of the filibuster as a gay carnival, a Senatorial pajama party, and an American Legion convention, had all lost appeal.

What was left was **an ugly, degrading, disgraceful undemocratic spectacle. A small band of undemocratically selected Senators are using physical force to prevent the Senate majority from voting to bring democratic rights to 18 million Negroes. The president of Howard University, Mordecai W. Johnson, lashed out at the nation which he said was "too sickly and too flabby and too lacking in political power to put into effect its own Constitution." The New York Times called the filibuster "a rejection of democratic political procedure;" the Toledo Blade said "it reflected on the quality of the legislative process, thwarting orderly deliberation;" and the New York Post labeled it an effort of "Sen. Russell (D-Ga.) and his white supremacist comrades . . . to force a hollow compromise."**

WORD CHOICE: When Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) wanted to put the Supreme Court decisions upholding the 1957 Civil Rights Act in the **Congressional Record,** Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) objected: "I don't want this **Record** cluttered by such crap as the Court writes." Later Eastland relented and permitted the decisions to be printed in the **Record,** but only after again referring to them as "crap and tripe not worth printing in the **Record.**" Sen. Douglas observed that these were unanimous decisions, but Eastland said: "I do not think that means anything. I do not think it is possible to compound ignorance and get anything but ignorance from it."

When some young people in the gallery laughed at Eastland's language, the Mississippi Senator pointed at them and said: "There's some pro-Communists." Later the Senator's remarks were laundered in the **Congressional Record,** and "crap" became "claptrap" and "tripe" was changed to "useless material."

Sen. Eastland and Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) both painted the Supreme Court, the NAACP, and other anti-segregation forces as Communist. Eastland read into the **Record** special memoranda from the House Committee on Un-American Activities giving the alleged "Communist affiliation and identification" of 13 of the 32 social scientists who signed the brief on "The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation" which was filed with the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. The 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation was called by Eastland "its Communist decision."

RARE PROTEST: Sen. Johnston quoted extensively from the works of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to prove that the anti-segregation drive was basically a communist plot. He charged that the

Washington **Post** (largest paper in the city) was "guilty of falling into the communist plot to destroy constitutional government in this country," said that the NAACP was "infiltrated with Communists and Communist programs," and charged that various unidentified members of Congress were similarly "tainted."

Sen. Thomas Kuchel (Calif.), Republican Whip in the Senate, uttered rare words of protest when he said: "Some of us who object to the continual vilification of the U.S. Supreme Court . . . ought, one by one, to spread on this **Record** our vigorous opposition to that calumny and our bitter resentment at the manner in which the members of the U.S. Supreme Court have been mistreated . . ."

The Washington **Post,** in an editorial on March 3 titled "No Colossus of Rhodes," wrote that "a number of men of whom this Capitol is fond have been diminishing their luster during the civil rights debate in the Senate." This soft impeachment was aimed especially at Sens. Lister Hill (D-Ala.), John Sparkman (D-Ala.) and J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.). These Senators have claimed to be of a different calibre than the Eastland-Talmadge Dixiecrat, but the filibuster finds them aggressively active on the white supremacy side.

UNSOLID SOUTH: Significantly, Tennessee's Senators, Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore, are not on the Dixiecrat team. Neither are the two Republican Senators from Kentucky, John S. Cooper and Thruston B. Morton. Oklahoma's Senators Robert S. Kerr and A. S. Mike Monroney, and for the moment, Senators Lyndon Johnson and Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas, are not with the Southern bloc. All of these Senators may waver, but the South is not solid on civil rights today in the Senate.

From time to time now it is said "there comes a break in the South's filibuster that is known as the Presidential hour." On Feb. 29 Presidential hopeful Sen. John Kennedy (D-Mass.) relieved filibusterer Holland (D-Fla.) for 80 minutes to call for more defense spending and higher taxes. He did not discuss civil rights. On March 3, Presidential hopeful Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) relieved filibusterer Long (D-La.) for an hour and 34 minutes to warn about our "defense lag." He did not discuss civil rights. On March 4 Presidential hopeful Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) broke into the filibuster to speak strongly for civil rights. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in her column **My Day** observed the absence of some Democratic liberals during the civil rights debate and asked: "What is the use of nominating anyone for high office if he has not done his duty in this particular situation?"

The next stage is already forecast by the stories of "deals" being worked out to compromise with the Dixiecrats. Will Congress get to express its majority opinion on **all** civil rights proposals? Will the "deal" be a sell-out?

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

MARK TWAIN

Subject of an international discussion in SOVIET HIGHLIGHTS

Was Mark Twain a "political" writer? A Soviet critic thinks so. The American editor of Twain's Autobiography disagrees.

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BOOKS

A matter of nutrition

DR. ALICE CHASE is an osteopath, author of a 1954 book, **Nutrition for Health,** and an uncompromising lacto-vegetarian (exception: eggs, although she finds them personally revolting because the egg is a potential living being, and besides chickens are notorious scavengers), and a veritable Carrie Nation on the warpath against orthodox medicine, surgery and drugs. Her new pamphlet, **Your Health Problems,*** which you can read in an hour or so if you leave her health menus for later, can hardly fail to impress you with her depth of conviction and the vigor of her attack on the standard medicos, especially one well-known syndicated newspaper columnist whom she calls an old quack and a windbag! She likes to quote Osler ("We prescribe drugs, the actions of which we do not know, for diseases we do not understand"); and the poet-doctor Holmes ("All the drugs should be dumped into the ocean. It would be better for mankind, but worse for the fishes.").

Instead of drugs, surgery for cancer, appendicitis, etc., diets of meat and fish for convalescents, she proposes "Food as Medicine" as the "safe and sound new road . . . if the scientific and honored healing profession is to keep pace with progress." . . . "The sick are rendered the best service when the physician makes constructive efforts to regenerate the tissues and lymph of the body."

On the theory that many internal ailments (and even such external symptoms as puffy eyes) result from the body's inability to dispose of the wastes deposited in it by bad diet, she urges "A Food Program for Everyone," which includes no meat or fish, no coffee or alcoholic beverage (she doesn't mention tea), but a wide and appetizingly prepared variety of raw and cooked vegetables, fruits and juices, nuts, cheese, milk, butter, cream and vegetable shortenings. The mainstays of an Alice Chase Sunday dinner are apt to be protose or nuttose, meat substitutes. A pound of walnuts, she says, is equal in food value to 4 lbs. of lean beef loin, 6½ lbs. of beef ribs, 10 lbs. of chicken, or 25 lbs. of red bass. And the peanut is even richer in food value than the walnut.

Stewed nuttose balls and fruit salad may not ring the dinner bell for your family; but she offers a pretty fancy sample dinner of cream of tomato soup with whipped cream, mushroom loaf, sliced beets, broccoli, asparagus, orange-apple-celery-apricot salad on lettuce leaf, grapefruit, fruit whip pie with shredded nuts, topped off with a hot beverage (postum, hot lemonade or a health beverage.)

Vegetarians are looked on as freaks by "apologists of the conventional customs that sooner or later will be overthrown," she writes, and her attitude toward these detractors seems to be, in a phrase, "We'll bury you." Furthermore, she says, "the leaders who control the destinies of the people and government would not make war so readily . . . if they were vegetarians."

**YOUR HEALTH PROBLEMS, by Alice Chase, D.O. 115 South Main St., Spring Valley, N.Y. 63 pp. $1. Also from the same address, a 1959 edition of NUTRITION FOR HEALTH. 354 pp. $6.*

MEAT-EATING finds a friend in E. W. McHenry, Ph.D. and professor of nutrition at the University of Toronto, who writes in a new book, **Foods Without Fads,*** that meat is an excellent source of high-quality, complete proteins and ought to be part of one meal a day. He concedes that there are other complete protein foods—eggs, milk, cheese; but meat contains "extractives" which stimulate the flow of gastric juices and may increase appetite. Meat is the most popular food in the U.S., Canada and most other "have" countries, while people in other areas are vegetarians "or nearly so" because they are compelled to be by a combination of scarce supplies and economic circumstances.

"If meat, fish, or fowl are available, why be a vegetarian?" he asks. On the other hand he questions the argument advanced by the Arctic explorer, Hjalmar Stefansson, based on observation of the Eskimos before they were "ruined" by contact with the white man, that man might better live on meat alone. McHenry says this was tried among soldiers, with adverse effects, and anyway it is too expensive.

Generally, he recommends, people should spend about one-fifth of the total food budget on meats and fish, and should spend equal amounts on cheese and milk, and fruits and vegetables. If this seems more budgetary than dietary advice, it is based on the view that meat is eternally the most expensive item in the market-basket, and therefore a proper balance will be maintained.

McHENRY'S BOOK is a "standard" work (he sets great store, for example, by the American Medical Assn.) and does not contain much to excite many truth-seeking kitchen mechanics. But some of his observations seem worth thinking about. For example, he opposes the "quart a day" theory of milk-drinking for children, not for strontium-90 reasons (the word doesn't appear in the book) but because too much milk makes it unlikely that children will eat suitable amounts of other needed foods. A pint a day is enough for children up to 12, a pint and a half thereafter. For adults a half-pint a day is needed; more for expectant mothers during second pregnancy. On Vitamin C, an orange or half a grapefruit a day is enough for most adults.

Except for arguments against vegetarians, "natural" farming and widely exploited regimens such as the Banting and Hay diets of other years, the "fads" aspect shows up more in the title than in the book. A chapter on "food nonsense" challenges the notions that cheese is binding, that oranges (because of fruit acid) are bad for rheumatism, that lobster and ice cream should not be eaten together, and that low-fat diets can prevent coronaries. If you jump on the low-fat bandwagon, McHenry says, you may be in for a nasty fall off the other side.

—John T. McManus

**FOODS WITHOUT FADS, by E. W. McHenry. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 159 pp. $3.50.*

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Dixie Sitdowns

(Continued from Page 1)

Northern Negroes, and whites, North and South, is growing.

NINE EXPELLED: On March 2, the day after the demonstration at the capitol in Montgomery, the state Board of Education expelled nine students from Alabama State College for their part in the original lunch counter demonstration. More than 900 students at the college pledged to boycott class registration for the spring quarter, scheduled for this week, in protest. At a rally they chanted: "Can't go to Alabama, we go to Auburn," an all-white state school.

Sparked by the Montgomery Improvement Assn., which led the bus boycott, the city's Negro community scheduled another prayer meeting on the capitol steps for 2 p.m. March 6. About 2,000 Negroes assembled in Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, one block from the capitol. As they filed out, they were met by 500 police and some 5,000 jeering whites. Firemen stood ready to turn hoses on the Negroes. But police muscle against the passive demonstrators was enough to break up the gathering.

EAGER COP: Racists who had hoped for a riot went home disgruntled. They had gathered early outside the church. While they waited they built up courage by predicting the violence they would do to the Negroes. One police captain wearing a black leather jacket and a white crash helmet helped. He shouted toward the church: "Can't you tell time? It's two o'clock. Somebody loan 'em a watch."

In Nashville, Tenn., protests also reached a peak. By last week 146 students had been arrested on disorderly conduct charges. Seventy-eight have been convicted and fined. But most chose to serve jail terms rather than pay the fines.

At the trial of Hardy Woodward Hunter, a Negro student at Tennessee A&I, police charged that he had fought with a white youth. Hunter maintained that he had been yanked by the white youth from the lunch counter stool where he was sitting quietly. Police said they had also arrested the white boy but in the confusion he had escaped. Hunter was fined $100.

'CONSPIRACY': In another trial, the city prosecutor summoned two white girl students at predominantly Negro Fisk University who had taken part in the protests to testify against the Negro demonstrators. But the girls stood on the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.

Particular target of city officials is Rev. James M. Lawson Jr., 31-year-old Negro Methodist divinity student at Vanderbilt University and projects director of the Natl. Christian Leadership Council. He was arrested with the original group of demonstrators. When he was identified as "the leader," he was expelled from the university. Later he was re-arrested with 79 other students on charges of conspiracy to violate state trade and commerce laws.

At the Nashville demonstrations, participating students were given instruction sheets containing these rules:

- Don't strike back or curse back if abused.
- Don't laugh out.
- Don't hold conversations with floor workers.
- Don't block entrances to the stores and aisles.
- Show yourself friendly and courteous at all times.
- Sit straight and always face the counter.
- Remember the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King.
- Remember love and non-violence, may God bless each of you.

THE PRESS: The "moderate" white Southern press has generally opposed the demonstrations but some were embarrassed by their allies. The Richmond, Va., **News Leader** commented in an editorial: "Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk, outside was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause."

Some white students didn't need a pause; they knew which side was right. In many Southern cities they joined the protests. At Vanderbilt University they picketed in protest against Lawson's expulsion. In a score of cities in the North they organized picket lines outside local Woolworth, Kress and Kresge stores.

REVOLUTION: More than 400 students, mostly white, picketed a Woolworth store in New York City March 3 in a demonstration organized by the Natl. Students Assn., the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality. They formed an ad hoc committee to continue the picket line every Saturday.

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell in a television interview called for a nation-wide boycott of Woolworth and Kresge stores by "citizens of all color and race."

In a television debate, Montgomery Chamber of Commerce president Carl Bair complained that Negroes "are pushing too hard." He added: "There's a revolution of the Negro youth in this nation."

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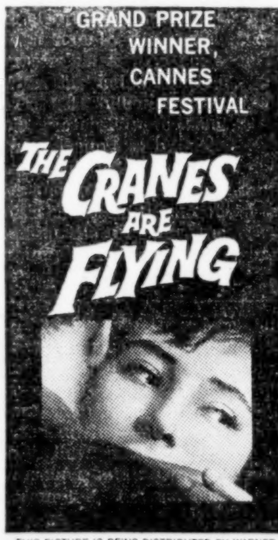

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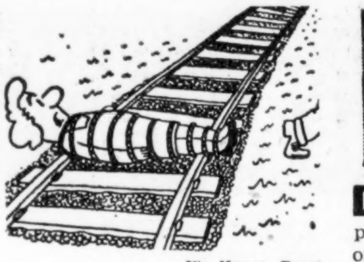

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THE GALLERY

DR. OTTO KLEMPERER, renowned orchestra conductor, wrote to the West German Assn. of Composers and Music Teachers expressing "profound indignation" at the omission of the anniversaries of Jewish composers Mendelssohn and Mahler in the association's handbook. He said the action reminded him of the "ignominious 1933-1945 regime." He added: "But I am doing an injustice to the V.D.T.M. (association). The suppression of the anniversaries is probably the fault of the Communists! Everything is their fault! It was they who in 1933 set the Reichstag on fire! They are the instigators of all that anti-Semitic to-do. I hope you can feel the irony of my words. We emigrants—Jews, Catholics, Protestants—we know very well where all those things originate: not with the Communists, but with the fascists who are still in leading positions in Germany." He closed with what he described as a "true German greeting"—"Heil Hitler." . . . A history textbook used in West German schools, **Out of the German Past**, devotes seven lines to Nazi persecutions. It says "hundreds of thousands of the imprisoned Jews lost their lives." The real figure is 6,000,000. The book also does not mention the gas ovens at Auschwitz . . . In Bergen, Norway, a court awarded a man $14 damages because another man called him "a big Nazi." The judge said: "The word has such a meaning to Norwegians that it must be regarded as very damaging for a man's reputation to be so called." . . . Bertolt Brecht's anti-war play **Mother Courage**, is being made into a movie in East Germany with Brecht's widow, Helene Weigel, in the title role. The producers will attempt to retain Brecht's style and intent, considered the antithesis of traditional film technique. The production will use harsh lighting and sharp contrasts in the photography. A faint sepia tint will be given to some scenes for a "parchmenty, historical" effect. During the songs the wide screen will be masked to portrait size. Between scenes the film will show a series of 17th century steel engraving by Jacques Callot called "The Evils and Misfortunes of War."

DEFENSE SECY. GATES told the Senate Space Committee: "I have no desire to lull the people into complacency. At the Defense Department we are constantly stressing that you can't pay any attention to the 'Spirit of Camp David' and must push forward as if there were no talk of peace." . . . Robert R. Schutz of Atherton, Calif., is trying to collect $25 from 480 people to hire a "peace lobbyist" in Washington . . . Madame Perle Mesta says that Sen. Lyndon Johnson is "my boy." She is campaigning for him to get the Democratic Presidential nomination and she is sure he will get the "women's vote" because "he's got everything . . . and you know what I mean." . . . A Connecticut man who maintained a wife and kids in Hartford and another set in New Haven for ten years was arrested last month on a charge of "idleness." . . . The London **New Statesman** noted that on an American letter a postage stamp depicting the Statue of Liberty and bearing the words "Liberty for All" is canceled by a stamp, "Aliens Must Report Their Addresses During January." . . . Dorothy Kolonick started a "Pet Sitting Service" in Cleveland. . . . When the League for Better Government in Emeryville, Calif., met in January to organize a slate to oppose the city administration, a concealed microphone was discovered in the room. The reformers traced the wire to a parked car across the street. As they approached, the car sped away. Later they learned that the microphone and car belonged to a private detective who said that he had been hired by the police chief. The district attorney said it was perfectly legal because police chief Doyle believed the meeting was going to "have something to do with gambling interests."

—**Robert E. Light**

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6—**Little Gal**
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9—**Zvornost—Freedom** (Smetana)

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One man's America

IN THE DEPRESSION YEARS of the 1930's the U. S. government, for an all-too-brief period, considered composers, writers and other artists worthy of support. There was a realization in Washington that with bread, a roof overhead, tools and a showcase assured, the followers of the Muses could work more fruitfully.

Thus, in the WPA (Works Progress Administration) were included, among others, a Federal Theater Project and a Writers Project. They introduced bold innovations that were later absorbed by the American theater; they cradled some of today's finest writers. It was even hoped that out of these projects would come an American national theater, supported by the Federal government, similar to those in Europe. But the Philistines won out.

Among the Federal Theater productions in 1938 was a revue, **Sing For Your Supper.** It folded after five weeks, but its finale—Ballad For Americans, a choral work, was a hit, and brought to prominence its composer, Earl Robinson, and librettist, the late John LaTouche. (See Buying Service, left). With Paul Robeson as soloist, Ballad was a sensation on CBS radio, at the Hollywood Bowl, at Lewisohn Stadium. The record album became a best seller. Ballad has since been heard around the world.

EARL ROBINSON WAS ALREADY an accomplished musician and composer by the time he composed Ballad For Americans. Before he was graduated from the University of Washington in 1933, he had played the viola and the violin in the symphony orchestra, sung in the glee club and conducted the orchestra in a program of his own compositions.

Hollywood beckoned and Robinson spent some years composing music for movies. He brought a fresh approach, as in the score for **A Walk in the Sun** and **The Roosevelt Story.** His song The House I Live In became a popular success after Frank Sinatra made a movie short around it.

Robinson, like many other American artists who were patriots too, did not escape the witch-hunt. But even in this clouded period he composed a highly successful documentary for General Motors, which he later developed into a 45-minute Cantata, **Giants in the Land.**

His folk opera, **Sandhog,** adapted by Waldo Salt from a story by Theodore Dreiser, was acclaimed by the critics, and the song Katie O was a hit. **Sandhog** was given eight performances by Northwestern Univ. last year. It is opening in the Dresden and Leipzig opera houses and is scheduled for a radio and TV production in Prague and TV in London.

LAST MAY ROBINSON WENT to East Berlin to conduct the symphony orchestra in a production of his cantata, **The Lonesome Train,** with libretto by Millard Lampell. He noted that outstanding soloists from West Berlin participated harmoniously.

The Lonesome Train, which describes movingly the journey of Lincoln's funeral train from Washington to Springfield, Ill., has become a piece of Americana. Yet, it became a "controversial issue" last year at Levittown and this year at Wingate High School, Brooklyn. At Levittown, its use in music classes was protested by a few persons and it was finally decreed that the score could be studied in the library but not in the classroom.

The 100-voice mixed chorus at Wingate High had rehearsed the cantata for the school's Feb. 24 Brotherhood Assembly. Acting principal Irving Feuer "scratched" the presentation when "some unauthorized person" complained to the Board of Education but restored it after the students unanimously insisted on going ahead.

Feuer again canceled it on the ground that he did not wish to "get involved with politics," although he could not "find anything objectionable" in the lyrics. On Assembly Day the students sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic and Feuer, in an address, urged them to "beware of pressures" and to have the "courage to do what you deem right."

In their compositions Robinson and his librettists have humanized the heroic characters in American history and brought out the heroism in the struggles of the ordinary people. Robinson is drawing on Jewish folk music in his latest work, a musical called **One Foot in America,** with libretto by Lewis Allen, based on Yuri Suhl's novels, **One Foot in America** and **Cowboy on a Wooden Horse.** The musical is scheduled for production next season.

—**Kumar Goshal**

EARL ROBINSON IN A DISCUSSION WITH FRIENDS